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/For information on the role of the Farmer's Association, especially in regard to agricultural extension work, applied animal science, money lending, as an agent for the provincial government's food bureau, etc., see category 474./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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greater labor force, and this absorbed the men who had formerly worked in Lukang.

The expanded area of land under cultivation increased the food supply and generally improved the standard of living. In addition, the Japanese introduced some Western public health ideas and new means for controlling disease. Apparently, these factors are closely related to the extensive population growth which then began to take place in Taiwan. The Japanese also improved the primitive communication systems of the area. A major program of electrification and improvement of rail and bus lines was instituted throughout the heavily populated areas of the island.

The material influence of the Japanese occupation and administration of Taiwan was enormous. Not only did Japan create in Taiwan an important element of its colonial empire but in so doing it indirectly began to produce important economic changes which had implications for the development of the rural areas and the island itself. While agriculture provided the major portion of Taiwan's exports to the home country, new, imported commodities also became readily available to the Taiwanese villager at low prices; many inexpensive canned foods became common in the village household. In spite of these changes, the world depression had apparently little effect in the Hsin Hsing area. In fact, few villagers were even aware that there was a world depression in 1929 and in the 1930's, which may be due to the almost total lack of industry in rural Taiwan or in Taiwan generally at that time.

The advent of the Japanese brought a higher standard of living for the Taiwanese people, but the improvements were offset by the war with China in 1937 and, more notably, by the entrance of the United States into the war in 1941. Japan had to muster all its own resources and those of its colonies, and good times soon turned into hard times for the Taiwanese farmer. At first, village men were lured off the land to work at high pay on Japanese construction projects, and others were conscripted to work in Japanese army labor gangs in both Taiwan and in Southeast Asia. Often families were left with only the women, children, and old men to work the land. The supply of artificial fertilizer which had been so important in developing intensive rice cultivation was almost completely cut off. The little food that could be produced under these difficult conditions was usually confiscated by the Japanese authorities to supplement the food supplies in Japan, and villagers were frequently reduced to a diet consisting mostly of sweet potatoes. The gratitude they had felt for the prewar accomplishments of the Japanese was offset by the severity of Japanese rule during the hard war years.

The defeat of the Japanese and the coming of the Chinese National-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village area was sparsely populated. At that time, what are now the large family groups in the village were only small family units living in much smaller houses than they now do. Villagers also recall that in the late 1920's, and especially in the 1930's, the local irrigation system was expanded so that water was brought to new lands. This permitted an increase in agricultural production, particularly in rice, so that the land could support a larger population. Older villagers also speak of the introduction of new health measures by the Japanese.

Apparently, then, Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang follow very closely the natural demographic trends, and in this respect closely typify Taiwan as a whole. (Those differences that do exist, e.g., the sex

TABLE 2

BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Population			Births			Deaths			Natural population increase
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Births minus deaths
Hsin Hsing	1956	302	309	611	17	13	30	2	3	5	25
	1957	312	332	644	16	11	27	2	2	4	23
Pu Yen	1956	13,259	13,446	26,705	654	594	1,248	125	121	246	1,002
	1957	13,441	13,784	27,225	542	548	1,090	127	138	265	825

ratio for the area [discussed below], point up the peculiar problem of land scarcity in the Hsin Hsing area.) For the years 1956 and 1957, the *average* rates of natural increase for Hsin Hsing village and for all of Pu Yen Hsiang respectively were 37.4 per thousand persons or 3.74 percent, and 35.9 per thousand or 3.59 percent.[10] (The breakdown of this in births and deaths for these two years can be seen in Tables 2 and 3.) These rates are not too different from the figures available for all of Taiwan for the years 1953–1956. The averages for these years show a natural population increase of thirty-eight per thousand or 3.8 percent (United Nations, 1957:114–115, 192–193).[11] (See Table 4.)

The population data for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang for the five years between 1953 and 1958 show that females outnumber males. In Hsin Hsing the average ratio of females to males was about 100:94.2 during those years. In Pu Yen Hsiang it was about 100:98.5. The figures indicating this can be seen in Tables 5 and 6.

In 1954 there were 105 males to every 100 females for all of Taiwan. This latter large excess of males over females includes those males

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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having their residence in Taipei—which is reflected in the reverse sex ratio in the village, that is, more females than males—many other villagers, both male and female, who work in Taipei continue to register their residence in Hsin Hsing.

This means that the number of registered villagers who actually live permanently in the village is well below the census figure. In fact, during the agricultural slack seasons in recent years, the actual proportion of villagers working in the city may come close to 15 percent of the total registered population. Many of them, especially the males, return to the village for the planting and harvesting. At these times they may cultivate their own fields, or at harvesttime join with groups

TABLE 10

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1956

Ages	Number	Percent
0–10	206	32.1
11–20	159	24.8
21–30	88	13.7
31–40	78	12.2
41–50	45	7.0
51–60	34	5.3
61–70	19	3.0
70 and over	12	1.9
Total	641	100.0

of fellow villagers in exchanging labor, or hire out as members of village labor teams. (Farm labor will be discussed in detail in the chapter on agriculture.)

If we were to deduct the registered villagers who have actually lived and worked in Taipei in the past several years, we would see that the village population apparently reached its optimum size during the early 1950's. Its growth has more or less leveled off despite the continuing high rate of natural increase. This is clearly indicated in the most recent village population figures (not used in this section) which give 609 inhabitants as the village total. This figure is thus more like the village population figures for 1953–1954.

The reason so many Hsin Hsing villagers must supplement their family income in Taipei is clear when one notes that the main livelihood of the local people is intensive agriculture, which furnishes only about 65 percent of the village income; the rest comes from nonagricultural sources, especially work in Taipei. There is not enough land available to the villagers to support the growing population.

According to the April, 1957, official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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464 villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the 464 economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to 167 move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most 423 village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family [434] income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire [427] families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

433 The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food 261 or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegeta- 432 bles, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he [439] must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any [443] number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

262 The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and 262 inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed 574 guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served be- 577 comes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

241 An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural 262 cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for every- 264 one engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A 577 man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer 000 may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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practice makes it dangerous to eat raw vegetables, and most vegetables are cooked before eating.

VILLAGE COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

The Hsin Hsing area has had electricity since the early 1930's. When electricity first came to Hsin Hsing village, almost all of the villagers immediately took advantage of the opportunity. According to the older villagers, the electric company paid for the installation of poles and other parts, but many villagers found the cost of the electricity itself prohibitive and were forced to discontinue service. Later, some of the electric poles not in use were removed from parts of the village.

Today, well over half of the village households again have electricity, although in most cases there is a bare minimum of one or sometimes two lights to a household. The majority pay a small amount each month to the electric company, for which they are allowed one electric outlet or light; the electricity only comes on at night. But many of the villagers, by doing a little electrical work themselves, are able to manage more than one outlet. They are especially active during times of festivities when lights are needed in more than one room at a time. When most of the villagers engage in this kind of improvisation, the fuses for the whole village's electric supply often burn out, and the village may be left in darkness for a day or two or sometimes for as long as a week until the electric company is notified or until some young man replaces the fuses. At other times only a minimum of light is needed, and usually a single light is strung in the doorway between two rooms, for example, between the ancestral-worship room (*kung t'ing*) and the bedroom or kitchen, or wherever the family happens to be at the time.

There are four radios in the village, but not all of them are in working order at any one time. Two of them were obtained through public or government agencies; the village mayor was given one by the Hsiang Public Office, and the elected head of the Farmers' Association village unit received one from the association. Small groups of villagers often listen to these radios in the evening. The other two instruments in Hsin Hsing are privately owned. The villagers' favorite programs are the frequent broadcasts of the Taiwanese opera.

The mail system in Taiwan is quick and efficient, and the village has a daily mail delivery by a regular postman. Most of the mail coming into the village is from family members who have gone to such places as Taipei to work or from village men who are away on military service. A few newspapers come into the village each day through the mail. Like the radios, two newspapers are sent free of charge by the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.5 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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crop. Sweet potatoes can be grown in either cold or hot weather and on either wet or dry land, although somewhat wet, sandy soil grows the best and largest potatoes. Too much rain during the growing season will ruin the plant. For this crop a seedbed is prepared, and the seedlings are transferred into mounds in a large field, where the potatoes mature until they are harvested. In Hsin Hsing sweet potatoes are grown in two different seasons. The early crop is planted around mid-May and harvested between mid-November and mid-January, the late crop is planted around late October and harvested from mid-January through mid-March.

In the Hsin Hsing village area as in much of rural Taiwan, the sweet potato is a standard part of the diet. And although it is an important food for human consumption, it is probably even more important as a food for animals. A large part of the sweet potato crop is sliced or shredded, dried in the farmer's courtyard by women and children, and then stored for later consumption by humans and livestock. Villagers who harvest a large sweet potato crop on portions of their dry land usually save only part of it for their own future use; they sell the remainder for cash to other farmers in the surrounding area.

In dry-land cultivation two crops, such as the sweet potato and the soybean, are often planted side by side in alternate rows and allowed to mature in this way for the entire growing season. This system of planting is a variation of the *hutze* or interplanting system and is commonly employed for the third crop in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area. The system "involves planting a crop in the field a few weeks before the harvest of the previous crop, [and] makes more intensive use of the land" (Chang, 1954:4). It extends the growing season and also gives the young plants a good start while the weather is still mild. For example, a few weeks before the mature second crop is harvested, the third crop is planted between its rows. This can be done even when the second crop is wet-rice, since water is not needed in the paddy fields in the last few weeks of growth.

Because operating expenses are high, as is the general cost of living today, and because the villagers do not have enough land to till, many find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet by growing only the standard rice crops. In such cases they have two alternatives; they can go to Taipei to work and earn extra income, or they can use their small amount of land in such a way as to obtain the largest possible income from it. The latter alternative is preferred by many who have found the best possible answer in the cultivation of vegetables for market sale.

It is common for farmers cultivating irrigated land to substitute other crops for rice on a portion of their land. Such substitute crops,

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Such substitute crops, especially various kinds of vegetables, require more attention and labor than rice but have the greater advantage of yielding a larger and quicker cash profit. However, the farmer who grows these crops must use part of the cash he makes to buy rice, which must be used in exchange for fertilizer (obtainable only through government agents), for payment of taxes and/or rent, and for his family's consumption. Perhaps for these reasons, and also because one must be willing to take a chance with a new crop which may sometimes become diseased or fail completely, other farmers prefer to grow rice on their small landholdings and earn the necessary supplementary income by finding employment in Taipei, returning home to work the land during the busy seasons.

Sometimes, however, the decision to switch to another crop is forced upon even the most conservative rice grower. A shortage of irrigation water or a delay in its arrival may make it impossible to grow rice at all. If the last possible calendar date for transferring the rice into the paddy fields passes before the irrigation water arrives, the farmer is forced to substitute a crop which does not depend upon large quantities of water at special times.

To date farmers who have chosen or been forced to grow vegetables have found it both interesting and exciting, perhaps because it is still relatively novel. And although the new crop does require a great deal more work than rice, the vegetable growers seem to find great pleasure in comparing and discussing the progress of their vegetable crops. This apparent trend toward the cultivation of vegetables began about four or five years after the restoration of Chinese rule, at about the same time Hsin Hsing villagers began to go to Taipei in search of supplementary income. The trend was apparently created by the villagers' need for additional income, but at the same time it was made possible by significant changes in the procedure for growing vegetables.

In the early years before and just after the restoration, farmers planted vegetables mainly for their own use. A very few planted some cucumbers, peanuts, and maize as cash crops. Insects, a major problem, deterred many farmers from large-scale cultivation of vegetables for market sale. The vegetables had to be planted and harvested by certain dates for fear of the coming of insects. Because there were no insecticides, the villagers sometimes used ritual practices such as charms, the action of shamans, or village worship to get rid of the insects. Recently, however, the increased availability of insecticides has all but eliminated the insect threat, and most vegetables can now be grown almost anytime. The only limitations are those of temperature and water. Today some vegetables can be found in the market throughout the year, thus offering the population a greater variety of vegetables.

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ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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events, like the months in which crops are planted and harvested. However, for the dates of the equinoctial or seasonal changes which determine the earliest and latest times for planting a crop if it is to be harvested at the proper time, the villagers usually use Chinese "solar terms" (*chieh ch'i*).[1] These, unlike the lunar calendar dates, "indicate the position of the earth with reference to the sun and consequently the seasonal climatic changes" (Fei, 1939:145). The villagers, in using these solar terms, equate them with dates in the lunar calendar which vary from year to year. The use of such a solar term, Ta Shu ("Great Heat") is an example of this. Its approximate date in the solar calendar is July 23; in 1958 this solar date corresponded to the seventh day of the sixth moon of the lunar calendar. The villagers feel that the rice seedlings of the second crop should be transferred one week before to one week after Ta Shu. The villagers do not like to transplant at other times, although occasionally a lack of water will force a delay. Some, rather than delay beyond these limits, will give up and replace the rice with something else, such as a vegetable.

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The agricultural cycle marks which months are busy and which ones are slack for the villagers. Below is a list of the months of the year and how the villager relates them to the agricultural cycle. Some of the events may actually encroach a good deal into other months, but the villager still associates certain months with certain agricultural processes. The months here are given first in the lunar calendar since, in speaking of actual dates, these are what the villager uses; their approximate solar equivalents follow in parentheses. Descriptions of activities are quoted from interviews with the farmers.

First month (mid-February to mid-March)

"This is a moderately busy month with many farmers harvesting their sweet potatoes and harvesting their third crop."

Second month (mid-March to mid-April)

"This is a busy month. The farmers plow their fields and prepare the fields for the transplanting of the first crop of rice which is done during this month."

Third month (mid-April to mid-May)

"This is a slack month. There is only weeding to be done in the fields."

Fourth month (mid-May to mid-June)

"This is one of the slackest months. There is no work in the fields, but only the checking of the irrigation water and the checking of the fields themselves."

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Fifth and sixth months (mid-June to mid-August)

"These are two of the busiest months of the year. The farmers harvest their first crop of rice and prepare the fields for the second crop of rice."

Seventh month (mid-August to mid-September)

"This is a moderately slack month with only weeding to be done in the fields."

Eighth month (mid-September to mid-October)

"This is a very slack month. There is no work in the fields other than checking irrigation water and the fields themselves."

Ninth to mid-tenth month (mid-October to late November)

"These again are two of the busiest months of the year. The farmers harvest their second crop of rice and some prepare to plant their third crop."

Eleventh and twelfth months (mid-December to mid-February)

"These are slack months. There is no work to be done in the fields. The farmers usually repair their houses, agricultural implements, and irrigation ditches during this time."

We note that what the farmer considers important enough to list on this monthly schedule are not only operations which consume a great deal of time and effort but also, and perhaps more important, the farming operations which harass him with deadlines and time limitations, like the planting and harvesting of the rice crops. Other operations are omitted from the farmer's listing. Thus, although he may actually be busier when cultivating certain vegetables, since he does the planting, harvesting, and marketing of vegetables without any hired or exchange laborers, he usually omits these operations from the monthly listing. There is usually no definite scheduling of vegetable crops and therefore no deadlines to meet.

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FARM IMPLEMENTS, OWNERSHIP AND EXCHANGE

The farmer does not need a great variety of implements and tools for his work. This was evident in a survey of the tools owned by eighty-seven village farm households in August, 1958. (See Table 11.) As might be expected, small and inexpensive tools which are used frequently are quite plentiful in the village. In fact, there is sometimes at least one such implement in each household, like the steel hoe, sickle, and bamboo baskets. Tools which have a limited use, even an inexpensive tool like the hand thresher, are found only infrequently in a farming household.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Large and expensive tools and work animals are also found in relatively small numbers. The oxcart, water buffalo, threshing machine, water wheel, and winnower are quite important to the farmer, but he rarely owns them. A villager may either rent a threshing machine from another villager or borrow it from a good friend or kinsman. However, a water buffalo for plowing or a buffalo and cart are more likely to be hired on a daily basis, its owner being hired to work the animal.

The villager who does not own a water buffalo or a threshing machine must adjust his own schedule in advance of the plowing or harvesting in order that it will not conflict with the schedules of people from whom he might borrow or rent the item. This can be troublesome if threat of a typhoon makes it imperative that he, like everyone else, harvest the rice crop immediately. Such an individual must take his chances and wait for the first available thresher. Luckily, such emergencies do not occur often. Even within the same village, farmers usually have slightly varied plowing or harvesting schedules.

Borrowing of small tools as well as many household items is both common and frequent in the village. When there is need for a tool, people prefer to borrow it from another villager with whom they have

TABLE 11

SURVEY OF TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Tools and implements	Good condition	Poor condition	Unusable
Water buffalo	17		
Oxcart	12		1
Foot thresher	10		
Hand thresher	2		1
Water wheel	10	4	4
Plow	28	2	5
Hand harrow	27		1
Foot harrow	10	1	
Hoe	87	1	
Sickle	136		1
Bamboo basket	144		2
Outside granary	15	4	2
Stone rice grinder	6		5
Hatchet	7		2
Leveler	7		
Pitchfork	17		
Insecticide sprayer	4		1
Winnower	8	1	
One-bar bicycle	30	2	2
Two-bar bicycle	22		
Sewing machine	23	1	2

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241 426 the closest relationship. Thus, a villager might have a relationship of frequent mutual borrowing with family members, neighbors, or friends. Sometimes a villager borrows a farm implement from a *ch'in ch'i* (a matrilateral or affinal relative), and in that case no money is [612] [602] paid nor a feeling of obligation incurred. But usually, unless a *ch'in ch'i* lives nearby, it is not likely that a large piece of equipment can be borrowed.

241 426 571 [602] However, the decision to borrow a tool from another depends upon how good the *kan-ch'ing*[2] is between the two people. This is true even for *ch'in tsu* relatives—such as patrilateral parallel cousins—whose *kan-ch'ing* may not necessarily be very good. If the *kan-ch'ing* between two people is not good and one lends the other a tool, then the borrower will feel an obligation toward the lender and worry about it and will later send a gift of something to the lender in order to cancel the obligation. Until this is done, the borrower feels uncomfortable. [427] Therefore, rather than become involved in an uncomfortable situation, a villager often prefers to pay the NT $20 rent for a threshing machine to someone with whom his *kan-ch'ing* is not necessarily good. The payment makes it a simple commercial transaction, and there is no obligation.

241 426 427 Many villagers do not like to borrow an implement which seems to be in bad condition, since if it breaks down the borrower will be expected to repair it. Therefore, to avoid possible trouble, many villagers prefer to rent the implement so that they have no such responsibility.

241 426 571 But no matter whom the villager approaches for the loan of a tool, it is quite unusual to get an outright refusal. If the owner of the implement does not wish to lend it at all, or at least not to that particular person—perhaps because he has a reputation for not returning things promptly—he will offer some excuse. But since the villagers generally know quite well who is likely to be willing to lend them things, they limit their requests accordingly, and embarrassing situations do not often arise.

242 427 Certain implements, such as insecticide sprayers, which few farmers own, can be rented at a nominal charge from the local Farmers' Association. The government and the Farmers' Association are fostering the use of insecticides and thus make sprayers available.

241 422 474 [571] Most really expensive farm implements are owned jointly by several villagers. The families which join together to buy a threshing machine, winnower, stone rice grinder, insecticide sprayer, or water wheel do so for various reasons. Entering into a joint-purchase arrangement, however, is dependent upon the existence of good *kan-ch'ing* between them. Some households which are related, such as brothers or even patrilateral parallel cousins, may have inherited a threshing machine

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or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the item together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Livestock	Number
Water buffalo	17
Pigs	241
Chickens	361
Ducks	372
Geese	131
Rabbits	52
Goats	11

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

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she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

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442 437 Village farmers who grow wheat usually sell their whole crop to brokers who come regularly with their carts and haul away the sacks of wheat which they have purchased after a good deal of haggling with the farmer over the price. Although the final price is usually only slightly more or less than the general market price, both sides seem to enjoy the whole bargaining procedure. The few farmers who have a surplus of rice also sell it to these brokers; the process of the sale is as long and lively as that for wheat. In fact, bargaining seems to occur in all transactions concerning the sale of goods, though it is rather unusual when services are being arranged for.

FARM LABOR

464 241 [592] Except for the landlord who hires labor to do almost all the daily heavy work on his land, the members of the farmer's family usually do most of the work in the fields. A good deal of this everyday work is now done indiscriminately by men, women, and older children. However, besides these daily tasks there are special farming operations which regularly demand additional labor, often highly skilled or specialized. Thus, laborers are either hired and paid in cash, or labor is exchanged for such tasks as plowing, transplanting seedlings, weeding, and harvesting. Rice, sweet potatoes, mint and sugarcane are the main crops which require additional labor at various times. Securing the necessary labor becomes a special problem at rice-harvesting time, since the harvesting in the whole area must be completed in a limited period.

The additional labor is usually found in the farmer's own village or the surrounding area and on rarer occasions outside the area. Such labor often includes small land cultivators who are not at the time working on their own land and landless villagers. The landless or nearly landless villagers who work as laborers do so in addition to some other kind of work locally or in Taipei. Members of the families of larger land-operators may not necessarily have to hire out as laborers during the agricultural busy seasons, but they nevertheless frequently do so. How often they do this may depend on the amount of land and the kind of crops they are cultivating, how many available hands there are in the family and how old they are, and how busy they happen to be on their own land at the times when extra farm labor is in demand. Self-cultivators above middle-age do not usually hire out as laborers, but their children frequently do. In addition, a man who is planting a crop like sweet potatoes, which is harvested at a different time, may have free time during the rice harvesting season and hire out as a farm laborer.

000 The presence of women working on the farm has been quite ac-

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The presence of women working on the farm has been quite accepted in the rural areas since World War II, when manpower was in such short supply. Village women whose husbands spend a good deal of time working in Taipei are especially active on their own land. However, the heavier fieldwork such as plowing, harrowing, and transplanting is not considered women's work. Therefore, if the male of the household is away at the time, the woman must hire the necessary labor. Frequently, men who work in Taipei and still retain a small piece of land in the village come home for the busier farm seasons to take care of their own land if their Taipei job permits. Generally, these men hire or exchange labor for the harvest. They usually remain in the village area for the entire harvest period and work on other people's land in order to make their return to the village more profitable.

Hiring labor for plowing a field, planting hills of sweet potatoes, transplanting rice seedlings, or even harvesting a mint field is rather simple; the farmer merely hires the few individuals necessary to do the job, usually from his own village. They may be specialists in plowing or transplanting rice seedlings, or they may be just ordinary villagers who are hired to weed the rice paddies or harvest a mint crop and are pleased to get the extra work when they are not busy with their own fields. On the other hand, hiring labor groups for the harvesting of rice and sugarcane is quite a different matter and quite complex.

One very important type of labor group hired to harvest rice is a group of ten people. This group is most frequently all male, although women may be included and sometimes make up as much as half of the group. The male laborers usually prefer not to have women in the group; women cannot handle the heaviest jobs such as carrying the baskets of rice to the farmer's house, which makes it necessary for only the men in the group to do this exhausting work. Men over the age of seventeen or eighteen and below fifty-five are preferred for the harvest work. On the other hand, since women laborers are easier and cheaper to hire, many landholders prefer to have some women in the labor team to cut down on harvesting costs. However, if it is imperative to complete a harvest quickly, then even the landholder prefers not to hire women; it is felt that they tend to slow up the work. In the latter case, it is not unusual to hire more than ten people in order to complete the harvest in the shortest possible time.

Frequently, the hired labor teams have the same small core of men each year. The core group is usually composed of men from the same village who have little land of their own. Such a group often hires out in villages throughout the immediate area and may even go to other areas whose harvest is earlier than the Hsin Hsing area. A single Hsin Hsing villager who does not belong to such a group can sometimes find work in a labor group outside his own village, but then only if he has

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 464 [602] a *ch'in ch'i* or friend elsewhere who can tell him about a labor group which is short a man or two.

The land-cultivator must usually make arrangements a week or two before the harvest in order to obtain the services of a labor team. In spite of the large population of the area, at harvesttime it is not easy to hire labor at the last moment, not only because many farmers harvest at about the same time, but also because so many local men are off working in Taipei. It is also for this reason that a labor team is often forced to complete its number with women.

There are several ways to go about hiring a labor team. If the group happens to be from the farmer's village there is no problem, since he knows about the team and has ample opportunity to make the necessary advance arrangements. Usually, however, there are not enough labor teams in one village, which makes it necessary for him to contact outside groups. The contact is perhaps most often made through someone who acts as a broker, who himself may be a member of a labor group. The broker is given a deposit of NT $1 for each of the team's ten members. The acceptance of this money has the force of a contractual obligation; the money itself is then kept by the laborers as a bonus.

241 464 612 602 Another method of contacting outside labor groups is accomplished through the arrangements of *ch'in ch'i* or friends who live in other villages and therefore know of labor teams. This source of contacts is especially fruitful, because Hsin Hsing villagers have many *ch'in ch'i* living in populous villages in the area. One large village about two miles from Hsin Hsing is a particularly good source of labor; its rice harvest is a good deal earlier than that of Hsin Hsing because the earlier arrival of the irrigation water there lets its farmers plant sooner.

241 464 [628] Infrequently, labor groups come from a greater distance to work in the Hsin Hsing area if they can be assured of work for several successive days. Several farmers may get together and hire the same labor crew for different days. In such instances the group sleeps in the village and receives all its meals from the farmers. And in this case, even the women who happen to be part of the labor group are fed all their meals.

More commonly, however, the labor groups are recruited from the immediate area; they therefore arrive for work early in the morning and go home in the evening. The members of such a group are fed "five meals a day." Two of these are mid-morning and mid-afternoon snacks eaten in the field as is the third meal, lunch. The other two meals are eaten at the farmer's house, but only the evening meal is elaborate. The women members of the labor group are fed only the two snacks and lunch in the field.

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The pay scale for the members of the labor groups varies annually with the price of rice. The exact rate paid by the small landholders of Hsin Hsing usually follows that paid by large landlords. The wages may either be paid individually to each member of the labor crew or else paid in a lump sum to the group according to the amount of land harvested. In the former system the men are paid from NT $22 to NT $25 per day, the women about NT $10 per day. Where payment is based on amount of land harvested, the lump sum to the group is divided equally among the men after they have paid the wages of any women among them. The latter wage system is more commonly used in the second rice crop of the year and the individual payment method usually for the first rice crop, since it is larger than the second and requires more work.

In Hsin Hsing there are about fifteen families which hire labor groups simply because they have no labor to exchange. This is usually the case when the head of the household is working in Taipei or is an older man. Others who hire laborers rather than exchange labor are somewhat wealthier people who can afford to pay in cash rather than in their own labor to get their land harvested.

A pure exchange labor group usually is more of an ideal than an actuality. Such a group is composed preferably of ten persons for rice harvesting. Ideally, they must be ten people who all cultivate approximately the same amount of rice paddy; thus, they can move from one piece of land to another until all their land is harvested, without having to calculate the labor hours devoted to each individual's land. If the need for a quick harvest is urgent, as it sometimes is in the first rice crop, the group decides which land to harvest first by inspecting each member's crop to determine which is the ripest, and it then proceeds in that order. If there is good reason to hurry the harvesting of the first crop, the farmers prefer not to rely on exchange labor, but hire a labor team. Therefore, there is less labor exchanged in the first crop than in the second.

This type of exchange labor harvesting group is not often found in Hsin Hsing, simply because it is not easy to find ten people with approximately the same amount of land to harvest. But there are some such groups in Hsin Hsing made up of individuals such as *tsu* members, neighbors, or sworn brothers who are intimate. The people in such a group, because of their relationship, are not concerned if some people in the group have more land to harvest than others. There is, for example, in Hsin Hsing a group consisting of several households with the same family name who are all descended from the same grandfather; they all live in apartments in the same large house and form a pure exchange labor group. These families for the most part have very good relations and enough men to exchange labor in this

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241 464 476 [618] way. While the men and boys of these households do the actual harvesting, the women work together to dry the rice in the courtyard, keeping each family's rice separate.

Probably the most common kind of labor group in Hsin Hsing and the area is a mixed group of ten people, some hired and others exchange laborers. Such a group is composed mainly of people who cultivate different amounts of rice land and usually includes some who are the equivalent of hired laborers and cultivate no rice land at all. [618] Such groups generally have no fixed membership, though it is common for the same group of men, often *tsu* relatives or friends, to form the core of the group and to include additional villagers each year to complete the team. Preferably, these additional farmers till at least a moderate amount of rice land. Farmers with a very small amount of land usually hire laborers, as do those with such large amounts of rice land that it takes too long to exchange labor.

241 476 464 465 Because of the composition of this mixed labor group a special system of accounting has been worked out which is based on the knowledge that the team will harvest more of some members' land than others and probably no land at all for a few. The group therefore manages itself almost like a hired labor group. When the group harvests the land of one of its members, the owner pays into the group's fund wages for each member based on the amount of land harvested. The owner of the land harvested furnishes all the food to the group just as if it were a hired team. When all the land of its members has been harvested, all the money which has been paid is equally divided. Once this is done, if there is still a demand for farm labor, the group may decide to hire out as a labor team; if some of the members do not care to hire out they are replaced at random.

241 464 476 The farmer attempts to plan the harvest so that it can be completed in one day, since he must supply food for the laborers. If necessary, the labor team may be increased by one or two members, either by hiring a few additional people or by recruiting members of the farmer's own family to help.

There are also some special cases of exchange labor in Hsin Hsing village. One farmer does field labor in exchange for free medical service for the family from the local doctor, one of the former large landlords of the village. In this case there is no way to calculate the equivalence of the services exchanged, but the families of the two men have been very close for many years, and they appear to be satisfied with the arrangement.

464 476 There are also instances of exchange labor between villagers who have some special work to be done, such as building a house. Although the labor exchanged may not be for the same kind of job, the men simply calculate the exchange on the basis of a day of work for a day of

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However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

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Other classes are held for training boys in agricultural techniques. There are also occasional adult classes on the proper use and application of fertilizer and planting techniques for some crops. The experts on various subjects who are brought in to speak to these classes are sometimes too technical for their audience, are not trained in practical application, and are strangers who know little of the immediate agricultural problems of the area. When this happens, the farmers tend to lose respect for and interest in such sessions. The Farmers' Association also sends trained women into the villages to teach women and girls how to prepare powdered milk for children and introduces new farm tools, new types of seeds and crops, fertilizer, and insecticides to the local area.

Under the auspices of the Farmers' Association the 4-H movement has been introduced in some villages in Pu Yen Hsiang. The movement is relatively new in Taiwan, having been introduced with the help of JCRR in the early 1950's. The movement has been in existence in Pu Yen Hsiang only during the past few years; so far it has met with only moderate success. The 4-H groups are for boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two. The program attempts to teach them the proper care of fields and livestock, home economics, and general record-keeping for income and expenses. Another purpose, set forth when the goals of 4-H are presented to the villagers, is to keep the young people busy and out of trouble.

There is no 4-H group in Hsin Hsing village since there is no one qualified and willing to lead the program. Such a position demands an educated man who has free time and a knowledge and an interest in modern farm techniques. The person best suited to lead the program in Hsin Hsing is a relatively poor man who does not have enough free time and who is not particularly respected by many villagers because of his poor financial condition. "If a poor man should tell people something sensible about what to do, no one would pay any attention. After all, no one wants to listen to the words of a poor man. But let the poor man suddenly become famous and rich, and people will listen to his most ridiculous ideas."

In addition to these many educational programs, the Farmers' Association also often subsidizes a farmer who is willing to attempt something new, such as buying an insecticide sprayer, building a new type of pig sty, or cementing a courtyard in front of his home for the drying of rice or vegetables. The association can give a partial subsidy to only a few farmers in the many villages each year. Usually, villages in which there are farmers interested in using the subsidy draw lots. However, the subsidies are so small that a great deal of money must be added to finance the building of a pig sty or a cement drying area, so only a few villages take part. Once the village receives the subsidy, there is likely

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These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[9] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

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tion of the chemicals from Japan which make up the greater part of all the artificial fertilizer used in Taiwan. Only a relatively small amount of chemical fertilizer is manufactured in Taiwan itself and sold on the open market.

Although the provincial government's Food Bureau still distributes the imported fertilizer through the local Farmers' Associations, the farmer today cannot purchase the kinds and amounts of fertilizer he wants. Instead, the fertilizer is only available to farmers who agree to grow crops specified by the Food Bureau. In 1958, chemical fertilizer could be obtained by the farmer only if he grew rice or jute as his first two crops and wheat or vegetables as his third crop. Payment for fertilizer to be used on rice was made in rice at the rate of one *chin* of rice for one *chin* of fertilizer. Only the fertilizer for jute, wheat, or vegetables could be bought for cash. The amount of fertilizer the farmer was allowed to purchase was determined by the size of area to be planted.

The fertilizer to be used for each crop is paid for in two installments: 40 percent at about the time of delivery and the remaining 60 percent after the harvest. Thus, in February or March, for example, the farmer must pay, in rice, 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the first rice crop. Then, sometime between the end of June and the beginning of August, he must pay the 60 percent still due for the first crop plus 40 percent of the cost of the fertilizer used for the second rice crop. The farmer must deliver the rice to the Farmers' Association. This sort of exchange system creates a number of problems for the farmer and is responsible for a good deal of his bitterness towards the government.

As a direct result of the government's monopoly, most of the better fertilizers tend to be cheaper when purchased at the Farmers' Association than they would be at the shops of local merchants which have only limited amounts for sale. (The merchants acquire the more desirable imported Japanese fertilizer through devious means which will be discussed later.) Thus the farmer prefers to buy his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association at the favorable price. However, many farmers in the Hsin Hsing area now grow vegetables or some other crop instead of rice, especially as the second crop, and the association does not allocate fertilizer for such purposes. These farmers, of course, still need fertilizer, and therefore many declare to the Farmers' Association that they will plant so much acreage in rice when they have no such intention. As a result, when payment for the fertilizer thus obtained is due, these farmers must buy rice on the local market or from a villager with a surplus in order to meet their obligation.

Even the villager who does grow the rice he has declared to the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Farmers' Association has problems. The farmer who grows rice as his second crop must save some of his rice from the November harvest in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer for the first rice crop in February or March. If this rice is stored it is in constant danger from rodents, but if the farmer eats or sells his rice, he must then buy rice in the spring at the higher off-season price, in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer needed in February or March.

A larger problem concerns the association's role in collecting the farmers' rice for the Food Bureau. (This same problem arises when the farmer makes payment in rice after the harvest for land tax, land reform land, and the enforced rice sale to the government. This will be discussed later.) In order to deliver his rice to the Farmers' Association almost three miles from Hsin Hsing, the farmer must either use an oxcart or make several trips by bicycle. To save time and energy, he may hire an oxcart if he does not own one. The rice will not be accepted by the Farmers' Association (acting for the Food Bureau) if it is not dry enough. If this happens, the farmer must take his rice home again and dry it further.

Today, some people in the area who own oxcarts and who have enough capital to maintain large stores of dry rice make it a business to take over the full responsibility of delivering the farmers' rice to the Farmers' Association in acceptable condition. These people obtain the names of farmers and the amount of rice they owe to the government from the Farmers' Association. They then pick up the rice of the willing farmer and give him a guarantee, in the form of a receipt, specifying that the businessman agrees to take over the farmer's responsibility for the rice payment. If the farmer's rice is not dry enough, the agent can then use his own rice stores to make payment. The charge to the farmer for this service is 5 percent in kind of the rice delivered. Many farmers use this service in order to relieve their anxiety over the possible refusal of their rice and also to eliminate the problem of finding a means of delivery.

Still other problems face the farmer under the government's system of fertilizer distribution. When the farmer acquires his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association, he must take the kinds and amounts of fertilizer being sold, regardless of what he would like or thinks he needs. And, in order to buy the ammonium sulphate fertilizer which is necessary for the rice crops, the Hsin Hsing area farmer must also buy a good deal of nitrogen calcium (known as "black fertilizer") which is used mainly for sugarcane and sweet potatoes. The farmers in southern Taiwan, who grow more sugarcane, must take the ammonium sulphate as well as the nitrogen calcium fertilizer. The result is that many farmers in each area sell the fertilizer they do not need to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 654 437 fertilizer merchants at a loss. The merchants then transport it to the area in which that type of fertilizer is in demand; there it is sold in local feed and fertilizer shops at a slightly higher price than at the Farmers' Association.

241 437 65 Large numbers of farmers are affected by the results of their false claims that they will grow rice in their fields in order to be allowed to purchase fertilizer at the Farmers' Association. These false reports also affect government economic statistics. The reports made to the Farmers' Association on the amount of land surface to be planted in rice are one of the important bases used by the provincial government's Food Bureau in estimating the annual Taiwanese rice production. The official rice price mentioned earlier is determined annually by the Food Bureau according to this estimate and then is approved by the Provincial Assembly. However, since so many farmers report an intention to plant more rice than they actually intend to, the estimate regularly tends to be greater than the actual production, and as a consequence the official rice price is usually considerably lower than the market price, which is dependent upon the actual rice supply.

241 437 65 435 The difference between the official and the market prices of rice has a definite and detrimental effect on the farmers. The landowner pays a land tax for paddy land in rice which must be delivered to the Farmers' Association. In addition, the provincial government's Food Bureau requires each farmer to sell a certain amount of rice to the government at the official rice price. The additional amount of rice due is added to the land tax bill, and the farmer receives a cash payment for it at a later date. This amount of rice is directly proportional to the amount of the land tax paid in rice. Thus, for every "14.16 kilograms" (about 23.4 *chin*) of rice paid in land tax, the farmer must sell "12 kilograms" (about 19.8 *chin*) of rice to the government at the official rice price, which may be as low as 70 percent of the market price.

A number of illiterate farmers in the Hsin Hsing area do not realize that they are selling rice to the government at this lower official price. Some of them are under the impression that the money they later receive from the Food Bureau is a rebate due them because they sent in too much rice for their land tax. Apparently, no one has explained the procedure to them.

[204] Regarding this procedure, Ko Kuo-chi, a Provincial Assemblyman, in the January 1, 1958, issue of *Tzu Chih Tsa Chih, Self-Government Magazine*, sharply criticized the government's Food Bureau for the price it had decided to pay the farmers for their rice. He noted that the government was paying the farmer only NT $97.80 per 100 *chin* of rice, while on the market the farmer could obtain NT $180 for the same 100 *chin*.

The government policy has the effect of a virtual attempt to force

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the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

[Text continues on p. 81.]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. (This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly increased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[8] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:219), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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daughters, similar to the Western form of adoption; others are adopted, usually by the wealthy, for their labor. Sometimes the small slave girls fall into the hands of frustrated women who vent on them the aggression they dare not express toward their husbands and parents-in-law. Even the girls adopted to be wives of the family's sons are never accorded the treatment of daughters born into the family. One of the most effective threats mothers make to recalcitrant children is to threaten them with adoption. In describing a sobbing, woebegone child, people often say, "Oh, there she is, crying like an adopted daughter." One might expect a fair number of adopted daughters to hate their foster parents and to regard the holidays requiring a visit to their natal homes as oases in the desert of their everyday existence. This is not the case at all. Their resentment is directed at the natal parents who sent them into this hard life, and they cling with something akin to panic to the foster parents who treat them so coldly. This is not the place to go into the psychological implications of these attitudes but that they exist was brought home to me again and again in interviews with adopted daughters, their bewildered parents, and their foster parents.

Lim Han-ci comes closer to the Western stereotype of the Chinese patriarch than do the heads of most Taiwanese families. Most fathers in Peihotien administer an occasional lecture or a formal beating, but the mothers do most of the disciplining, teaching, and directing of the children's daily lives. Lim Han-ci, if one can believe the stories of his neighbors and children, was far more active in the training and control of his family. His treatment of his children is the subject of many of the village anecdotes about his life. Lim Han-ci demanded of his children the same hard work he demanded of himself; he made no allowances for high spirits or play; and he was considered strict in a community where children are punished severely and often cruelly. Lim Chieng-cua admitted that his father had once in a moment of anger beaten him and his older brother with the heavy wooden handle of a hoe, covering them with bruises that stayed for weeks. His father's more formal punishments included taking the misbehaving child down to the river and dunking him several times.

Lim Han-ci's reputation caused as much, if not more, terror to the other village children. An historian who grew up in Peihotien said he often walked half a mile out of his way to get to school without passing a field in which he had seen Lim Han-ci working. The bunds

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that enclose each small paddy field and keep the water on the growing plants were (and still are) a constant source of dissension between farmers and children. In some places pathways serve as natural bunds, but in others they are painstakingly built up with earth. Being only a foot and a half to two feet wide, they are delicate; a bit broken off an edge might easily begin an erosion that in a night could empty a field of its precious water. Imagine a vast network of bunds and a child in a hurry. Lim Han-ci prided himself on keeping his bunds squarer and freer from weeds than any other farmer in the area, and woe unto the child who trespassed. A child who made use of one of Lim Han-ci's bunds without being caught would nonetheless run from him for weeks afterwards. Laughing at his own youthful terror, Lim Chieng-cua told me he once saw his father cut down a piece of bamboo to repair a fence but was so convinced that he was to be beaten with it that he hid for hours in a deserted field shed.

After hearing these and many more tales of Lim Han-ci's severity and the uncompromising demands he made of his impoverished family, it was difficult for me to understand the genuine affection with which Lim Chieng-cua and the other members of the family spoke of him. Perhaps adulthood brought them a greater understanding of the things he was trying to do for them and to teach them; perhaps too their fear of him was tempered by pity when he received what must have been the greatest blow of his life. At nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest and therefore the favored son, revolted against the unyielding discipline of his father and left the family home. Lim Han-ci was not a man to be broken by this—even to the day of his death the children who remained behind were afraid to cross him—but he learned to soften his commands and to allow for needs he himself did not feel. As his neighbors say, "Something was missing after that."

When Lim Han-ci was dying, the family took an unusual step for villagers. At that time the countryside had few doctors. To be sure the old man had the best treatment available, his children took him to a hospital in Taipei. "But," Lim Chieng-cua told me, "he found out how much it cost and refused to stay there. We were all so afraid of him that we couldn't do anything other than bring him home again. We had a doctor fetched to Peihotien every day in a cab and each time warned him not to let my father know he came all the way from Taipei in a taxi. We spent a fortune in that last month, but he worked hard for us all his life."

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done to Lim Hue-lieng or he himself would be guilty of with later grandchildren, but enough to soften his commands and make allowances for A-bok's occasional lapses. A-bok learned everything his grandfather knew about farming and was encouraged by him to develop that talent for innovation which has played such a major role in the family's history. As Lim Han-ci had been among the first farmers to switch to wet rice farming when the irrigation system was built by the Japanese, so A-bok was among the first to devote large tracts of land to the now profitable truck farming.

According to the village gossips, A-bok was not devoted to a life of hard work until after his marriage, but since this notion is traditional, particularly among females with unmarried near-adult sons, I take it lightly. The fact that he submitted to an arranged marriage without even meeting the girl who was to be his bride was taken by many villagers as evidence that he lacked the spirit and independence of his father and grandfather. Indeed, if he had insisted on choosing his own wife, he would probably have been allowed to. But even today in Taiwan, opportunities for young people to meet and become acquainted are few, particularly if they are not employed outside their homes. The kind of young women that Lim A-bok met through his *lo mua* recreations were not women he would wish to raise his children or care for his mother in her old age. His notoriously independent father had compromised also, and when he made a second choice of his own, it was not from amongst the accomplished women he knew in the outside world but a quiet village girl. A-bok married the girl selected by his mother and the go-between, and with the birth of his first child, a boy, he settled easily into the pattern of his grandfather's life and gave up the pleasures of his father's.

All of the farmers in Peihotien put in long, hard hours and hire help only when essential. Lim A-bok works harder than any and hires help less often than most. Some say that he wouldn't have to work so hard if he took a few short cuts, but A-bok wants his fields to stand out from the others by being freer from weeds and with neater windbreaks. In general, he succeeds, but certainly at great cost to himself. I have often seen him nodding over his evening meal, but if it is still light after dinner he goes back to the fields. When the hours of daylight are fewer, he spends his evenings repairing equipment and making rope. Because of his industry and his reluctance to discuss the family's affairs, he is a difficult person to interview. His mother is

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willing to discuss certain topics with nearly anyone, but A-bok is even more cautious. There are a few long-standing trusted friends of the Lim family who serve formally and informally as peacemakers and as witnesses. As head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua often waits for their visits to air any grievances. This makes A-bok think of the friends as his uncle's rather than the family's and he hesitates to confide even in them. His mother seems to be the only person with whom he speaks frankly.

I hinted and probed for months before I got so much as an admission from him that there were problems within the family. Finally, my assistant and I came across him in a peanut field glutted with weeds. He was weeding frantically and clearly feeling very low. We spent the afternoon pulling weeds which came out somewhat easier than this interview:

"You have been living in our house for a long time now. I am sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I don't much like to talk about family business. If I told people outside the family, they would laugh and say, 'Oh, so the Lim family has *that* much trouble getting along with each other.'

"Look at this field! I have so many different things to do that I can't finish one before I have to jump to the other one. Since I planted this field, it has only been weeded once, and that's when I hired Ong A-giok to weed it. If grandfather were alive, the field wouldn't look like this. There wouldn't be a single weed and those ragged wind breaks would all be trimmed. It just couldn't be like it is now! It shames me."

We worked in silence for ten minutes or so and then A-bok continued, "If you compare the amount of work done by my family and by my uncle's family, who does the most? You just look around you. Even when my uncle sees that I am so busy he won't tell his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze when they come home from school. This is work that farmer's children should do, but my uncle never urges his eldest son to do it. I have this many things to do all by myself, and then I have to do children's work too. What is going to keep the fields from growing to weeds? There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to just sit and receive. If he wants the fields full of weeds, I can do that too.

"The generations before me kept this land always planted and always in good order. How can I let them run down and lie fallow?

251 262 744 eight years. Although farmers have been relatively willing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts, the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

164 Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasionally very severe. Working in the paddy fields with their load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

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759 756 Treatment of disease and injury may involve many distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who furnish charms to drink. Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

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245 consulted with extension agents and the farmers' association. Other villagers are watching closely.

244 242 414 The village is close to Taipei and seemingly could share in the truck garden market, but no village in the immediate area other than one village, about two miles distant, participates. The latter was chosen by the farmers' association in Hsin Tien as a model village for vegetable production. After seeds, assistance, and guidance were provided by three technological experts who were assigned nearly full-time, the returns have been very high. The experts have withdrawn except for one who returns periodically for consultation as the innovated system is now self-generating. That is, it appears the village will continue to raise vegetables for the market without further stimulation.

Other villages have observed the techniques of growing and marketing vegetables but there has yet been little diffusion. The techniques are considered complex, the dangers of market fluctuation high, and the experience regarding potential damages by insect and weather nonexistent. There is interest however and the passage of time is likely to result in copying.

• 241 463 As can be seen in the detailed descriptions provided for growing other crops, farm technology is highly complex and villagers regard a skilled farmer as a master of a trade. Although anyone can do some farming tasks,

241 463 the necessary skill to make correct decisions takes considerable time to acquire. One of the reasons for this is the fact that some problems appear rarely. The infrequency does not imply a lack of seriousness for the loss of a full crop only once every fifteen or twenty years is still a disaster. The infrequency of some kinds of problems does 241 delay the introduction of new crops. Moreover, this belief 463 that farming is a highly skilled trade inhibits the full 562 use of women. It is believed that women do not have sufficient time to learn all the skills because of their household responsibilities. Additionally, there are restrictions on male-female interaction and since an individual learns part of his farming skills by talking at length to other farmers, women are handicapped by the restrictions on communication with skilled farmers who are presently all males.

244 Sweet potatoes are important in the village, but [231] were never grown for sale until recently. A small nearby dairy, one year old, keeps its cows inside a building and feeds them by hand. Sweet potato leaves are purchased from Sanlei villagers to supplement the hand-picked grass [438] and commercial fodder. Four older men cultivate bamboo shoots, minor amounts of which go to the market in Hsin 443 Tien. Vegetables of various kinds are grown in the village although only a few are sold and those only through the

considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they prefer less fat.

Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes has created the belief that no one can make a profit raising pigs although the government, through the farmers' association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the association have attended several meetings concerned with encouraging hog production. Although they have passed out much literature, they have had little success in promoting pig production. No small part of their failure is because they too believe that there is little profit in pigs although in order to set an example, both are raising more pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast. Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

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423 the land and putting the money in many other kinds of investment.

621 It is not profitable to discuss land values without
461 reference to the kind of crops and the technological sys-
464 tem employed in the community. A village can be viewed
121 on one level as a potential labor pool. That is, all its members are capable of contributing increments of labor which vary in accordance with age and physical condition. There are few societies (if any) which maximize utility or achievement of this potential for there are always periods set aside for rest and recreation and certain individuals, particularly children, the aged, and often women, are not assigned responsibilities commensurate with their physical potential. A community seems to aim at some reasonable level of satisfaction although the target may be raised or lowered over time.

178 At the time the clog business was introduced, San-
621 lei was an agricultural village surrounded by fields oper-
461 ating in terms of a technological system which required
464 certain inputs of man hours to manage its crops. Over
182 time, a system had developed for assigning certain indi-
241 viduals requisite portions of the necessary labor inputs and as expected, women, children, and old people were especially underemployed.

182 The clog industry required adult male labor inputs
241 which tended to be drawn out of the agricultural labor
462
464

182 pool. As might be expected in a Chinese village, mature
241 but not aged males had constituted the majority of the
462 labor pool in agriculture. There were several potential
464 ways in which this reduction in the current labor force could be overcome such as by an increase in population, making more use of formerly underemployeds, change to crops which required less labor, or a reduction in agricultural activities. In Sanlei, not only was the latter course not followed, there was an increase in agricultural activities resulting from the continuing development of mountain land and moreover, there was no significant change in the kinds of crops grown on the old land nor in the technological system. The first two alternatives were adopted. There was some growth in population and some use of surplus adult males from surrounding villages. But the second potential solution is the most important for the problem considered in this paper, the use of under-employeds, particularly women. Women replaced men to a greater degree than ever in large segments of the agricultural activities.

While the clog business flourished, the employment of women in additional agricultural work became routine. When the market for hand-made clogs burst, there was an immediate surplus of male labor. It was possible for women to be replaced by men in agriculture but this did not occur. Instead, some men started to go to the city

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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for work and some men became coal miners. There has been some withdrawal of women from agricultural activities resulting from the fact that as women died or retired, they were not replaced by the young women who, as previously stated, are going into the factories. The ultimate effect of the clog business on the village was to increase the importance of female labor and consequently, raise women's status.

Division of Labor

The division of labor based on age and sex is a cultural universal (Linton, 1936; Murdock, 1957). It has been portrayed in previous sections that Sanlei village is no exception to this general principle for some jobs are solely for men, mining, driving, and plowing, and others, heavy work, harvesting rice, transplanting, and construction are primarily for men; some jobs are solely for women, tea picking, midwifery, clothes washing, and others, cooking, tending children, and tea sorting, are primarily for women. There are many blurred areas with overlapping assignments and other areas where one sex is favored but the other competes. For performing the same task, women usually earn less money than men. Over time, it appears that women have assumed many responsibilities and positions formerly enjoyed only by men.

651 allowances are made for those who have had a heavy recent
653 expense such as a wedding. The range of assessments was
626 from $2.00 to $100.00.

The lin chang collected the money and gave it to the mayor to deliver to the government. This was all done informally, i.e., no legal pressure could be brought on an individual who refused to contribute. There would be community pressure for by refusing to cooperate a man would be failing his neighbors. In a close-knit community, one never knows when cooperation is needed; a poor man needs employment, and a rich man must hire laborers and at critical periods, the area has a slight to severe labor shortage.

746 Some social welfare support trickles into the com-
797 munity from outside through various governmental levels and even through missionary groups which distribute United States government surplus. Other welfare is on the basis of kinship. However, the local community does assume limited responsibility for its own indigent on a community basis as previously described. There is a proverb, "A good neighbor may be more important than a distant relative" (see Glossary C).

The Farmers' Association

494 The Farmers' Association is a quasi-governmental
241 unit which operates as an important link between farmers

474 and the government. Sanlei villagers feel the Farmers'
• 241 Association is their own organization, not a mere branch of governmental bureaucracy. In this regard, it is perceived as a successor to the "Farmers' Associations" of the 1920's (locally developed organizations) which were suppressed by the Japanese rather than the "Associations of Agriculture" which were created as official organs of the Japanese Government (Bessac, 1965:21).

Farmers' Associations fulfill a number of different functions. They are a farm credit service with deposit and loan facilities and capital accumulation in the Hsin Tien association is quite large. They provide economic services such as the sale of bean cake, insecticides, farm implements, and fertilizer, and act as a collection agency for taxes in kind and for the sale of rice. They also provide extension services including study groups, home improvement clubs, and 4-H clubs and sponsor model communities and model farms such as that described for the nearby vegetable gardening village. They instruct in new agricultural and sanitation techniques. The one in Hsin Tien helps provide market information for tea growers and recently, developed a form of livestock insurance. Some services are profitable and some lose money such as the necessary activities connected with the responsibility for communicating government directives to farmers. In general, all the activities may be subsumed under general

474 goals of increasing agricultural production and improving
• 241 rural life.

474 Talei Li has its own small unit, a local branch of the Farmers' Association. This unit has an elected "Small Unit Head" from T'oulei and "Vice Small Unit Head" from Sanlei. These two leaders are a nexus between the community and the association. Since they receive no compensation other than recognition, an occasional free dinner, and a magazine subscription, they feel the office is nearly worthless, without money or power. For example, they are required to carry out policy with which they may personally disagree, i.e., currently they are supposed to be encouraging hog production although both they and the average farmer believe that raising hogs is unprofitable.

There are 97 regular members of the Farmers' Association in Talei Li plus 10 associate members. Forty of the members live in Sanlei, indicative of that village's great emphasis on agriculture. Talei Li belongs to the Hsin Tien Farmers' Association which has a total membership of over 1,000. Although each local Farmers' Association is subject to government regulations and directives, there is great latitude for local independence and democratic control. The Association is run by a Board (one elected representative from each li), an Assembly (representatives elected from each li dependent on size of membership), a Watch-Dog Committee (auditing supervisors

796 The above events serve to break up the year. More-
291 over, the period of the year when the required agricultural activities are at a minimum, from the middle of the twelfth month to the middle of the first, is witness to the most festive period which commences with the last monthly-cycled event of the year and ends with the first monthly-cycled event of the new year (see next section).

527 There are also the national holidays which are sched-
178 uled according to a calendar, but in this case the western
369 calendar. These are not as important in the village as the religious affairs but are growing in importance as time passes and there is a greater degree of urban contact and more individuals start working in factory, business, and mining occupations. Businesses tend to close for the important events and thus, the workers remain home. There are usually parades and decorations in the cities and many of the younger people go off to observe. The major events are Double Tenth (the establishment of the Republic), President Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, the Birthday of Confucius, and Restoration Day (the return of control over Taiwan to the Republic of China).

The Monthly Religious Cycle

796 In accordance with the lunar calendar, there are two pairs of worship days each month devoted to gods, ancestors, and the Good Brothers which also serve to punctuate the calendar with religious events. One pair falls on the first

461 over extended periods of time. Functionally, there is like-
182 ly to be some culturally specified alternative to provide such a proportion of relief time from a potential seven-day work week at twelve hours per day, a period for renewal and relaxation. In China, the traditional alternative is provided through religion as it is in many other parts of the world. Due to the nature of all functional explanations, it is not possible to specify why some other alternative could not have served as an adequate substitute.

The Yearly Work Cycle

316 Those work activities unrelated to agriculture are
221 spread relatively evenly across the year. For example, mining is approximately the same all year, only slightly higher production is required during the cold weather.
221 Listed below by month is the yearly cycle of agricultural
241 activities with an approximate indication of the general need for labor. In order to promote continuity, the cycle is started with February which comes closest to marking a natural starting point.

243 February--Busy. Prepare paddy fields and transplant
245 rice seedlings. Fertilize orange orchards.

221 March, April--Light. Fertilize and weed paddy fields twice. Prepare rice seed bed for second crop. Weed tea plants and commence heaviest harvest. Weed orange trees and apply insecticide.

May, June, Early July--Very Busy. Harvest first rice crop. Prepare paddy fields and plant second crop. Weed tea fields and continue harvest. Weed orange trees, fertilize, and apply insecticide.

243 245 221 Late July, August, September--Light. Fertilize, weed, and apply insecticide to paddy fields twice. Fertilize and cultivate orange orchards. Weed tea fields and continue harvest.

[244] October, November--Very Busy. Harvest second rice crop. Prepare fields and plant vegetables. Complete last small harvest of tea.

244 245 221 December and January--Moderate. Harvest vegetables and oranges. Plant and transplant tea bushes and orange trees.

241 The above schedule provides a general picture of the agricultural activities devoted to the major crops but there are 244 many other minor crops which are not listed. Vegetables are planted, fertilized, weeded, and harvested during various periods all year around. For example, onions and leeks are planted and harvested during nine different months of each 313 year. Finally, during any slack period, trees may be cut down and left on the ground in open piles until sufficiently dry to be carried down the mountainside for home consumption or sale.

182 Currently, the ecological adjustment is such that 464 the demand for labor is spread relatively evenly over the entire year. There are now only two periods lasting a total of about eight weeks when there are serious labor shortages and conversely, only about six or seven weeks when there is a moderate to heavy labor surplus.

178 When the village was first established, the main 244 243 crops were subsistence vegetables and paddy rice. Rice pro- 464 duction in a double cropping area necessarily involves large seasonal variations in the demand for labor.

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
891 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.